

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NEA-06 CU-01 SP-02 L-01 NSC-05

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P 301238Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2663

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 22339

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-L

TAGS: UNESCO, US, IS

SUBJECT: DG M'BOW DECIDED AGAINST INVITATION OF ISRAEL
EXPERT TO HELSINKI PRIVATE EXPERTS MEETING ON EUROPEAN
DEGREE-DIPLOMA EQUIVALENCIES

1. IN HOUR-LONG MEETING IN LATE AFTERNOON OF AUGUST 29
WITH PERMREP AND DELOFF' DG M'BOW DETAILED REASONS FOR
HIS APPARENTLY FIRM DECISION NOT RPT NOT TO INVITE AN
ISRAELI EXPERT TO SUBJECT MEETING TO BE HELD IN MID-
OCTOBER. M'BOW SENDING DRAGOLJUB NAJMAN, WHO WILL BE
IN NEW YORK WEEK BEGINNING AUGUST 31, TO MEET WITH
ASSISTANT SECRETARY BUFFUM AND AMBASSADOR BLAKE FOR
FOR FURTHER EXPLANATION OF M'BOW'S DECISION THAT PERMREP
JONES STRESSED IS GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT TO USG. EXACT
TIMING OF NAJMAN'S INTENDED VISIT TO DEPARTMENT UNKNOWN
AS M'BOW DECIDED TO HAVE NAJMAN MAKE DETOUR ON BASIS
OUR STRESS UPON IMPORTANCE U.S. ATTACHED TO GESTURE OF
ISRAELI PARTICIPATION IN THIS MEETING.

2. M'BOW ASCRIBED DECISION TO THREE BASIC FACTORS:

A) M'BOW'S FEELING THAT HE HAD ACCOMPLISHED FAR MORE
IMPORTANT OBJECTIVE IN ASSERTEDLY OBTAINING AT
KAMPALA OAU MEETING FIRM COMMITMENTS FROM PRESIDENTS
OF ZAIRE, IVORY COAST, NIGERIA, AND SENEGAL TO OPPOSE
AT KAMPALA, LIMA, AND UN ANY MOVE FOR EXCLUSION OR
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SUSPENSION OF ISRAEL FROM UN; B) M'BOW'S STRONG BELIEF

THAT HE "VULNERABLE" TO CRITICISM FOR "POLITICAL GESTURE" FROM WESTERN AND EASTERN EUROPEAN MEMBER STATES IF ISRAELI EXPERT CHOSEN AS FULL PARTICIPANT IN MEETING THAT COMPRISES NO MORE THAN 15 PARTICIPANTS FROM 36 EUROPEAN STATES; AND C) "NEGATIVE RESULTS" OF JULY MISSION TO ISRAEL OF M'BOW'S PERSONAL EMISSARIES (CONDON OF EDUCATION SECTOR AND BOLLA OF CULTURAL SECTOR).

3. DG UNYIELDING DESPITE OUR REPEATED EMPHASIS ON FACT THAT DG'S COMPLETE AUTHORITY IN CHOICE OF INVITEES TO HELSINKI MEETING--IN UNESCO PARLANCE A "CATEGORY 6" MEETING OF PRIVATE EXPERTS RATHER THAN OF OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES--PRECLUDED HAVING TO OBTAIN APPROVAL OF OTHER MEMBER STATES. FURTHER, PERMREP EXPRESSED VIEW THAT WESTERN AND EASTERN EUROPEANS ALIKE WOULD TACITLY ACCEPT AND, AS FAR AS WEO'S CONCERNED, PROBABLY APPROVE OF GESTURE THAT USG COULD READILY POINT TO AS INDICATIVE OF "CORRECTIVE STEP" BY UNESCO'S DG TO OVERCOME LAST GENERAL CONFERENCE'S DENIAL OF ISRAELI ENTRY INTO UNESCO EUROPEAN REGIONAL ACTIVITY GROUP. WE NOTED THAT M'BOW'S EFFORTS AT KAMPALA OAU MEETING (POINT A, PARA TWO ABOVE) BY THEIR VERY CONFIDENTIALITY COULD NOT BE PUBLICLY REFERRED TO AS A "STEP" TO SATISFY U.S. CONGRESS.

4. PERMREP LAID PARTICULAR STRESS ON OUR TACIT UNDERSTANDING FROM JUNE 17 BUFFUM-M'BOW MEETING THAT DG THEN CONCERNED FOREMOST IN HAVING USG'S ASSURANCES THAT GOI WOULD ALLOW PARTICIPATION OF ISRAELI EXPERT IN HELSINKI MEETING IF INVITATION EXTENDED. SUCH ISRAELI AGREEMENT HAD BEEN OBTAINED AND PREVIOUSLY COMMUNICATED TO HIM. M'BOW CONCEDED ACCURACY OF OUR INTERPRETATION BUT SAID THAT SITUATION HAD "EVOLVED GREATLY" SINCE THEN. M'BOW FOCUSED ON "NEGATIVE RESULTS" OF CONDON-BOLLA MISSION TO GOI (POINT C, PARA TWO ABOVE), WHICH APPARENTLY ELICITED MINIMAL COOPERATION FROM ISRAELIS ON ISSUES OF EDUCATION IN OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES AND EXPLORING FURTHER MEANS OF PROGRESS ON JERUSALEM EXCAVATIONS. DESPITE THIS M'BOW STRESSED HE HAD FURTHER CONFIDENTIAL

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EXTENDED HIMSELF BY PERSONALLY DELETING ITEM ON OCCUPIED TERRITORIES FROM THIS COMING EXECUTIVE BOARD SESSION AGENDA, A MOVE THAT RISKED ARAB ANGER.

5. PERMREP SUGGESTED M'BOW DISCREETLY SOUND OUT WEO'S AND EE'S TO DETERMINE IF THESE WOULD IN FACT OBJECT TO ISRAELI EXPERT'S INCLUSION IN HELSINKI MEETING. M'BOW DID NOT RULE OUT TAKING SUCH SOUNDINGS.

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6. AT ONE POINT IN TENSE EXCHANGE M'BOW EXPRESSED VIEW THAT POLITICAL RISKS OF ISRAELI INVITATION VIS-A-VIS OTHER MEMBER STATES SO GREAT THAT ONLY FIRM U.S. ASSURANCE THAT INVITATION WOULD ENABLE U.S. TO PAY ITS CONTRIBUTION COULD JUSTIFY RISK HE WOULD BE TAKING. PERMREP POINTED OUT THAT VERY NATURE OF BLOCKAGE ON CONTRIBUTION AND U.S. GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEM PRECLUDED OUR BEING ABLE TO EXTEND SUCH ASSURANCES.

7. ANALYSIS AND COMMENT. NAJMAN WILL LIKELY REITERATE ALL OF M'BOW'S POINTS TO U.S. WE SUGGEST THAT IT BE IMPRESSED ON NAJMAN THAT USG DOES NOT SHARE M'BOW'S VIEW OF RISKS, THAT WE NEED THIS AS WELL AS OTHER CONCILIATORY GESTURES, AND THAT, WHILE USG APPRECIATIVE M'BOW'S EFFORTS TO DATE IN COOLING OFF SITUATION AND ESPECIALLY HEADING OFF FURTHER ANTI-ISRAELI MOVES AT EXECUTIVE BOARD, THIS MEETING BY NATURE OF TIMING BEFORE END OF YEAR IS WELL SITUATED TO ENABLE USG MAKE CONVINCING ARGUMENT OF FORWARD UNESCO MOVEMENT TO CRITICS OF ORGANIZATION.

8. IT IS CLEAR THAT M'BOW HAS LIMITED PERSONAL UNDERSTANDING OF U.S. SYSTEM, PARTICULARLY IMPORTANCE OF SYMBOLIC GESTURES AND IMPACT ON MEDIA. HE CANNOT COMPREHEND THAT U.S. WOULD ATTACH SUCH STRONG IMPORTANCE

TO RELATIVELY MINOR MEETING OF PRIVATE EXPERTS. M'BOW
FEELS HIS EFFORTS AT KAMPALA SHOULD OUTWEIGH ANY DE-
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CISION ON HELSINKI INVITEES.

9. INABILITY OF M'BOW TO FATHOM WORKINGS U.S. SYSTEM
HEIGHTENS, IN PERMREP'S VIEW, NEED FOR VISITS TO U.S.
BY M'BOW. MOREOVER, M'BOW'S SENSITIVITY VIS-A-VIS
ISRAELI HARD LINE TOWARDS UNESCO HAS NOT LESSENED, AND
HE STILL LOOKS FOR SOME "CONCRETE" GOI GESTURE,
PARTICULARLY ON JERUSALEM.

10. IMPRESSION IS THAT M'BOW NOT IDLY BOASTING OF
INFLUENCE WITH AFRICAN AND NON-ALIGNED CHIEFS OF STATE,
PARTICULARLY MORE MODERATE AFRICAN NATIONS, I.E., ZAIRE,
IVORY COAST, AND SENEGAL.

11. FROM LONG-RANGE ANALYTICAL VIEWPOINT, M'BOW IS NOW
AT KEY POINT IN HIS CAREER. IF HE IS FORCED TO RELY
MORE AND MORE ON ARABS FOR FUNDING OF UNESCO, HE
WILL NATURALLY LOSE ABILITY AND POSSIBLY HIS INCLINA-
TION TO ASSIST U.S. M'BOW EMPHASIZED REPEATEDLY HIS
VIEW THAT NO UN ORGANIZATION CAN FUNCTION WITH U.S.,
BUT HE HAS DEFINITE LIMITS ON HOW FAR HE CAN GO TO
ASSURE THIS. HE DEFINITELY WILL NOT JEOPARDIZE HIS
STANDING WITH "THIRD WORLD."

12. RECOMMEND: 1) U.S. TAKE LONG-TERM ANALYTICAL VIEW
WITH M'BOW AND NOT OVERSTRESS IMPORTANCE HELSINKI
MEETING; 2) CONSIDER STEPS THAT OVER PERIOD OF TIME
WILL IMPROVE M'BOW'S UNDERSTANDING OF U.S. SYSTEM, AS
HIS WEAKNESS THIS AREA IS NOW HIS MAJOR SHORTCOMING;
AND 3) STRESS TO NAJMAN THAT M'BOW WILL HAVE TO
CONTINUE TO MAKE GESTURES TO ISRAELIS REGARDLESS
WHETHER LATTER MAKE FAVORABLE RESPONSE.
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